Gift subscriptions to HUMAN EVENTS have transformed liberals into conservatives; they have converted passive conservatives into political action conservatives; they have given students the ammunition to fire back at liberal instructors. See page 807.

Human Events — YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XIX, No. 42 October 20, 1962 Section 1 — News

CUBA: *Lawmakers' tempers mount* .....(791)

BERLIN: *Sinister compromise?* .....(791)

WALKER: *Denied due process* .....(792)

MISSISSIPPI: *Bypassing the Constitution* ....(793)

COPE: *Secret report bared* .....(793)

No. 1 Issue—Cuba: "The Democratic party is in trouble all over the country and the No. 1 issue is Cuba. Each day points up the President's inability to make decisions," said Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) at a Chamber of Commerce meeting in Chicago on October 5.

Every week, reactions on Capitol Hill against the Administration's do-nothing policy on the Red threat 90 miles from Florida become sharper.

(1) Castro's Red Cuba now has medium-range missiles with a range of at least 1,400 miles—the flying distance from New York to Havana is 1,323 miles. Launching pads for these weapons are under construction a short distance from Havana. So reports David Sentner, veteran Hearst correspondent in Washington, who adds that such intelligence plus knowledge of the "fishing base" in Havana for Soviet subs has prompted the Pentagon to give the White House recommendations for strong action. The Pentagon "top echelon," says Sentner, does not believe the Soviets would go to war over Cuba and that the US should not hesitate to invoke an immediate military blockade to shut off any further flow of Soviet military aid. Senator Kenneth Keating (R.-N.Y.) confirms the Sentner story.

(2) The North American Newspaper Alliance reports from Bonn that Soviet puppet East Germany is giving Castro two submarines as a start toward building up a Communist-bloc-supplied submarine fleet for Castro's Cuba.

(3) Senator Prescott Bush (R.-Conn.) urges that the US consider giving refugee Cubans the weapons to establish their "own blockade" against Cuba. "It would not take many PT boats," said Bush, to enforce such a blockade.

(4) Not only Republicans but Democrats also chime in. Representative Michael A. Feighan (D.-Ohio), speaking on the floor of the House, produced a photograph of a Russian missile-firing submarine and repeated a report from Europe that the Russians have fired long-range missiles from their submarines. The Congressman said: "I believe that it will overtax the ability of the foremost appeasers in our State Department to come up with an explanation that this submarine is a defensive-type weapon. We must serve notice on the Russians that basing of missile-firing submarines in Cuba is an aggressive act and must be dealt with accordingly."

(5) California's Republican Representative James B. Utt's comment on the House floor is similar to that heard widely in the cloakrooms: "The public has been demanding that some action be taken to roll back the Communist thrust in the Western Hemisphere; but, instead, the Kennedy brothers jumped into Mississippi with the fierceness of a tiger going in for the kill. This is the same cabal which lacked the courage to insure the success of the Bay of Pigs invasion and withdrew military support after the Cuban patriots had been committed to a landing."

In his speech, Senator Goldwater approved Kennedy's action to close American ports to foreign shipping which carried supplies to Cuba, but said, "That's not all that's needed." He left little doubt that he wants a naval blockade.

Another Munich?: The Administration and various Western European capitals talk of an upcoming crisis of terrifying magnitude over Berlin and, at the same time, hint at a possible "summit" meeting between Kennedy and Khrushchev to solve it. The Soviet brinkmanship, apparently, would take place in November and December. Observers in Bonn and Paris fear that the crisis might prove as scarifying as the famous Munich crisis of September, 1938, when the British and French premiers—after weeks of diplomacy and threats—met with Hitler in the South German city and sold out their ally Czechoslovakia. The parallel in 1962 is ominous, with our ally West Germany cast in the role of Czechoslovakia.

The parallel can unhappily be extended further. In 1938 there was a "fourth man" called to Munich to speed the settlement which historians regard as ensuring the outbreak of World War II. The "fourth man" was Mussolini, brought into the affair by the French to accomplish the Great Appeasement.

Today, Western European diplomatic circles are talking of "the Italian plan" to solve the question of Berlin. Would Italian Premier Fanfani be the "fourth man" in a sellout?

Constantine Brown, Rome correspondent of the Washington *Evening Star*, last week reported details of "the Italian plan," the terms of which would be as follows: The Red puppet East German forces (after Khrushchev has recognized the Communist regime there) would be substituted for

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Russian forces at all checkpoints in Berlin. But at the same time the Western Allied forces in West Berlin would cease to be "national"; they would become the agents of the United Nations. (France reportedly will not countenance "the Italian plan.") Brown says some sources believe that, under this plan, there would be a neutral supreme commander, probably a Swede, to be appointed by the UN. With the Congo experience in mind, such a UN plan and command does not augur well for West Berlin and West Germany.

Nixon: The Nixon-for-Governor-of-California campaign continues to pick up steam. Pro-Kennedy columnist Joseph Alsop, after polling precincts in the Golden State, reports the former Vice President is likely to beat Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown. Former President Eisenhower's public support of Nixon has also provided Nixon rooters with a good shot in the arm.

But what comforts the Republican pros in the Golden State is the effective, aggressive campaign Nixon has been waging in recent weeks. His TV performance against Governor Brown—in which he hit Brown hard on his softness on communism—has reportedly swung a large number of fence-sitters into the Nixon corner.

While the former Vice President has been making headway by pointing out Brown's failure to face up to the revival of Red and pink influences in California, he has also been refuting the propaganda that Brown has kept the state fiscally solvent. Nixon states:

(1) While the population has gone up 15.5 per cent under Brown, the State budget has ballooned 52.6 per cent.

(2) With the number of state employes increasing 26.4 per cent, the state payroll has skyrocketed 47 per cent.

(3) Personal income taxes have also shot up a solid 106 per cent under a Democratic State Administration.

(4) The cost of the promises to carry out the 1962 Democratic State platform over the next four years will amount to a *minimum* tax increase of $1.35 billion.

Moreover, the former Vice President points out that Brown is only technically correct when he says, "We have had four balanced budgets." In fiscal year 1962, Nixon stressed, the State Administration spent $4.222 billion—the highest amount spent by any state in the nation. And last year, the State taxed the people $4.156 billion, going $66 million in the hole. In order to claim a balanced budget, Brown had to borrow money by floating State bonds.

Walker: Whatever the eventual outcome of the General Walker case, one thing seems eminently clear: Former Major General Edwin A. Walker, a US Army hero in Korea and Germany, was initially hustled off to a psychiatric prison ward on the orders of the Kennedy Administration without counsel, held prisoner and denied even the writ of habeas corpus.

Only after outraged protests from a large segment of the nation's press, Representative Bruce Alger (R.-Tex.), the ultra-liberal American Civil Liberties Union and legal intervention on Walker's behalf did the Administration partially rescind its arbitrary orders.

What particularly concerns Capitol Hill is the fancy footwork of the Department of Justice in placing Walker in a psychiatric ward. The Department claims the jailing of Walker was founded on a "legal determination by the judge, based on medical opinion."

The highly respected Washington Evening Star, *however, editorialized that US District Judge Claude Clayton in Oxford, Mississippi, incarcerated Walker on the word of "a psychiatrist who had not even seen, much less examined General Walker . . ." Judge Clayton, moreover, invoked a long-standing federal statute used largely for the jailing of the nation's worst thugs.*

The railroading of Walker into a psychiatric ward recalled to old timers the story of the psychiatrist used by friends of Alger Hiss during the Chambers-Hiss perjury trial. Dr. Carl Binger claimed under direct examination that Chambers was suffering from a "condition known as psychopathic personality," partly because Chambers frequently gazed at the ceiling. Under cross-examination it was learned that Binger himself had gazed at the ceiling 59 times in 50 minutes.

Another aspect of the Walker case being seriously discussed is the initial $100,000 bail bond fixed for Walker. It is pointed out that this is the same price tag put on the bail for Dr. Robert Soblen, the late Soviet spy. "The Justice Department seemed to equate the menace of General Walker with the menace of Soblen, $100,000 each," snapped UPI bureau chief Lyle C. Wilson in a recent column.

Dr. Robert Morris, the former counsel to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee who is now Walker's counsel, has pointed out the Department of Justice actually treats Communists better than Walker. "Good proof of this," said Morris, "is that virtually every Communist arrested under the Smith Act has had his conviction set aside by judicial decision."

Welcome to Bella: The warm embrace Cuba's President Osvaldo Dorticos gave Algeria's Premier Ben Bella in New York prior to Dorticos' searing attack on the US at the UN apparently has not aroused the present Administration. President Kennedy plans to meet with Ben Bella this week and the *Wall Street Journal* (October 8) reports US officials expect to hand out massive doses of foreign aid to the new Algerian government. Ben Bella vowed in his first speech as Premier that his government would be "socialist." The US has already given $22 million worth of foreign aid to the new Algeria.

In return for our aid, the new Premier has "helped" the United States by pledging in his

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maiden speech before the United Nations "unconditional" support for subversive nationalist movements in Angola, Rhodesia, South Africa and Southwest Africa. In the same speech, he also backed admitting Red China to the United Nations.

Moreover, press and US intelligence reports reveal that Algeria has been sending Army personnel to Cuba. According to a press dispatch filed from Havana and appearing in the New York *Herald Tribune* on March 19, 1962, 76 "veteran rebels of the FLN" came off the Cuban freighter Bahia de Nipe in February to "train Cuban terrorists and saboteurs."

The leader of the group, Omar Haraigue, said, according to the *Tribune* dispatch, ". . . the liberation of the Cuban people in 1959 was received with great joy by us. We Algerians will also start a social revolution when we achieve our liberation."

The anti-colonial fires fanned by the US have again come home to burn.

Political Justice at Ole Miss: In the aftermath of the riots at the University of Mississippi, political observers are charging that the President and Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black acted in an arbitrary and hasty manner to ensure the enrollment of James H. Meredith.

Without such hurried action, it is claimed, the deaths which resulted from the riots (and which did not occur at Little Rock) might never have happened. It has also been noted that if the federal government's decision to enforce the integration order had awaited all normal legal processes, Meredith's enrollment in Ole Miss would probably have taken place in the second semester, after the election.

Senator Sam Ervin (D.), a former associate justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, has shown that the State of Mississippi never received a full hearing by the Supreme Court until after the federal government had sent its battalions into the state.

The case was allegedly "heard" by the High Court before federal action. At the "hearing" Associate Justice Black (an ultra-liberal), sitting as a one-man Court, refused to stay a lower court's judgment that Meredith should enter the University of Mississippi on the grounds that, in his opinion, the other members of the Court would back Meredith. Constitutional experts consider this decision highly unusual since the Constitution states the Supreme Court has "*original* jurisdiction" when the federal government and a state government are in conflict. Hence the Meredith case should have been presented before the entire Court.

New York *Times* columnist Arthur Krock points out that Black acted in a strange and hasty manner. Krock noticed that many who agreed with Black seemed "not at all disturbed by the casual judicial attitude toward 'due process' in this instance."

The dean of Washington reporters also noted the "total contrast" between the way Black handled the present case and the way in which the Court—with Black—has "meticulously" handled due process cases against Communists and criminals.

"For example," said Krock, "in 1957 it freed one Mallory, convicted of an especially brutal rape . . . because of 'unnecessary delay' by police between the interrogation of Mallory and his arraignment . . ." Krock also pointed out other cases where the Court has leaned over backwards to give the accused a fair hearing.

COPE: A secret campaign report prepared by James L. McDevitt, National Director of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, has recently come to light. Written last August, this report was intended for the eyes of COPE's Administrative Committee only. The report reveals the plans by which COPE, Walter Reuther's political machine, hopes to elect down-the-line liberal candidates in the November elections.

When McDevitt was informed the report had been leaked out, he said someone was guilty of "bad faith" in releasing it. Two election campaigns—one in Florida, the other in Texas—illustrate COPE's maneuverings to get labor-pledged candidates and reveal why McDevitt was loathe to air the report.

In Florida's 11th District, COPE backed State Representative L. B. Vocelle in the Democratic primary against the eventual winner, State Senator John Sutton, who has been calling himself a conservative Democrat. McDevitt now, however, reveals a shift in COPE's attitude: "Despite the outcome [of the primary], the District must not be written off. Indeed we have reason to anticipate we may wind up with a friend in Sutton. A series of meetings has been held with him. His initial opposition to health care under social security is softening, and his general approach to problems which concern us shows signs of improvement."

In Texas, COPE-supported gubernatorial candidate Don Yarborough was defeated in the Democratic primary by John Connally. COPE has now come around to backing Connally, with whom an "accommodation" has been reached. The report says that Connally, besides backing other labor proposals, has agreed to establish a State Labor Department, "appointments to which will be made from a list of recommendations submitted by the state AFL-CIO."

• Also unearthed last week was a National COPE, state-by-state "Schedule of Allocations-Expenses, January 1 through August 31, 1962." This report shows COPE planned political spending of $933,302 but does not reveal the further expenditures planned by COPE for September and October. The already announced amount constitutes a large increase over the $709,813 spent by National COPE in 1958, and the $795,140 spent by the group in 1960.

THE REV. W. P. CLAUSEN, El Paso, Texas: "It is not only that HUMAN EVENTS so well espouses matters which are so vital to the preservation of our Republic but also that it presents happenings as you do not find them in other current periodicals."

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Schizophrenia: Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) last week accused the President and his aides of practicing "political demagoguery" in their discussions of the fate of the Administration's legislative proposals at the hands of Congress.

Speaking in his home state, Goldwater said: "It defies common sense for the President to claim that 36 Republicans can block the legislative intent of 64 Democrats in the Senate and that 174 Republican Congressmen in the House can block 261 Democrats." Goldwater said this reasoning reached the "heights of absurdity."

The Arizonan further noted that while Kennedy was charging the GOP blocked his proposals, his Press Secretary, Pierre Salinger, was claiming Congress had passed over 70 per cent of them. This, Goldwater charged, showed the Democrats are suffering from "schizophrenia." He said JFK and his advisors "must think the American people are completely and utterly stupid . . . Every rational American will see through this political demagoguery."

Red Rollback?: While the Administration continues to shilly-shally over the festering crises around the globe, a strong counter-offensive against the Soviets is now being demanded on many fronts.

General Lucius D. Clay, the President's special adviser on Berlin, has handed Kennedy a series of strong proposals to put the Reds on the defensive. Clay's boldest recommendation is that West Berlin now be incorporated into West Germany. This move, forging tighter links between Free Berlin and the West German government, would allow the West Germans to move their own armed forces into West Berlin. Answering objections that such action would tear up the four-power agreements on Berlin, Clay reportedly remarked that the Soviets have already blown holes in those Berlin agreements.

In Asia, meanwhile, Chiang Kai-shek, echoing the view of former American Ambassador to Nationalist China Everett F. Drumright, has declared the "time is ripe now" for an all-out attack on Communist China. Chiang has often spoken of a mainland attack, but this year his hopes are bolstered by the brutal Red-made famine on the mainland which has driven thousands of Chinese into Hong Kong.

Celebrezze: Anthony Celebrezze, the new Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, recently sent a 520-word telegram to every member of the House in support of President Kennedy's federal aid to education bill. The cost was $3,562.

Many GOP Congressmen are now accusing the new HEW Secretary of illegal lobbying. Representative August Johansen (R.-Mich.) has brought to the attention of the Department of Justice the fact that Title 18, Section 1913, of the US Criminal Code provides a penalty of a year in jail and a $500 fine or both for anyone in the government who uses appropriated money for lobbying for or against legislation.

Capitol Camera: Senator John J. Williams (R.-Del.) had some advice for JFK last week: "Perhaps if the President would stay in Washington a little more and see what a mess his party is making of running the Congress, he might hesitate to ask the American people to add even more to this lopsided majority."

• *Even Chester Bowles, it seems, is disgruntled with the way foreign aid is handled. The chief adviser to President Kennedy and a long-time foreign aid supporter has proposed ending foreign aid to nations that "lack the competence, organization and will" to use it effectively. Surprising for a liberal, Bowles cites Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa as one example of a country that uses foreign aid wisely.*

• Nixon headquarters are jubilant over news from Nevada. Since the former Vice President's rough and tumble TV debate with Governor "Pat" Brown, gambling odds in Las Vegas have shifted from 6-5 take-your-choice, to 7-5, favoring Nixon.

• *Capitol Hill notes with interest the number of troops that Commander in Chief Kennedy feels is necessary to meet various world crises. The US has moved about* 10,000 *military "advisers" in uniform into the shooting-hot situation in South Vietnam. Approximately* 6,000 *US troops are on duty in West Berlin. Concentrated within a* 100-*mile radius of Oxford, Mississippi, however, was an estimated force of* 31,000 *troops—some* 16,000 *of them in the town itself.*

• While news stories have been blaming the pro-Western province of Katanga for the September 20 shooting down of a United Nations plane which resulted in the death of two men, the pilot of the plane now pins the responsibility squarely on the Central Congolese Government. According to an October 11 UPI dispatch from Stockholm, pilot Anders Lundquist has stated: "It was the Central Government's troops who shot us down, and it is inconceivable that the UN does not want to tell the truth."

CORRECTION: Page 808 says our average net-paid circulation for the YEAR ending September 30, 1962, was 106,830. That is an error. The figure is 91,162. The figure 106,830 is our PRESENT net-paid circulation.

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Section Two
October 20, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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Americans for Constitutional Action Rates Your Senators and Congressmen

THREE YEARS AFTER becoming operative, Americans for Constitutional Action finds itself smack in the middle of the 1962 senatorial and congressional elections. And this is exactly where ACA supporters want it to be. Under the guidance of Admiral Ben Moreell, ACA has 18 campaign specialists assisting 11 senatorial and 35 congressional candidates in 16 states. In addition, supplemental assistance is currently being rendered to 143 other conservative candidates.

Neither Admiral Moreell, former chairman of the board and president, Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, nor any other member of ACA's Board of Trustees receives either remuneration for their services or reimbursement for their expenses. ACA operates on a campaign budget of less than 10 per cent of what Walter P. Reuther's AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) set aside simply for its 1962 voter-registration drive. Just think what ACA could do with $1,250,000!

Thirty months ago, the first *ACA-Index* was published and sold by *Human Events* for $15. This 122-page book analyzed roll call votes in the Senate from 1955-59 and in the House of Representatives from 1957-59. Since that time, ACA has published the *ACA-Index—1961* and the *ACA-Index—1962*, which brings the ratings up to date for the November elections.

ACA is governed by a Board of Trustees composed of Republicans, Democrats and independents. ACA trustees are:

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The Honor Roll

(Scores of 80 or Higher)

US SENATE

100
Bottum (S.D.)
Tower (Texas)

99
Goldwater (Ariz.)

97
Williams (Del.)

94
Byrd (Va.)
Hruska (Neb.)

92
Curtis (Neb.)

91
Butler (Md.)

88
Cotton (N.H.)
Murphy (N.H.)

86
Bennett (Utah)
Thurmond (S.C.)

85
Robertson (Va.)

83
Hickenlooper (Iowa)

81
Miller (Iowa)

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

100
Alger (Texas)
Ashbrook (Ohio)
Beermann (Neb.)
Bruce (Ind.)
Findley (Ill.)
Hoffman (Ill.)
Rousselot (Calif.)
Scherer (Ohio)
Smith (Calif.)
Waggonner (La.)

99
Johansen (Mich.)

98
Devine (Ohio)

97
Hiestand (Calif.)
Lipscomb (Calif.)
Utt (Calif.)

96
Betts (Ohio)
Bow (Ohio)
Clancy (Ohio)
Hoffman (Mich.)
Mason (Ill.)
Pillion (N.Y.)
Schadeberg (Wis.)

95
Anderson (Ill.)
Hall (Mo.)
Poff (Va.)

94
Brown (Ohio)
Derwinski (Ill.)
Minshall (Ohio)
Short (N.D.)

93
Gross (Iowa)
Schenck (Ohio)
Taber (N.Y.)

92
Cederberg (Mich.)
Ray (N.Y.)

91
Becker (N.Y.)
Dole (Kan.)
Kilburn (N.Y.)
Martin (Neb.)
McCulloch (Ohio)
Michel (Ill.)
Roudebush (Ind.)

90
Adair (Ind.)
Church (Ill.)
Collier (Ill.)
Dague (Pa.)
Derounian (N.Y.)
Hoeven (Iowa)
Laird (Wis.)
Van Pelt (Wis.)

89
Byrnes (Wis.)
Jensen (Iowa)
Jonas (N.C.)
Robison (N.Y.)

88
Berry (S.D.)
Kyl (Iowa)
Latta (Ohio)
McDonough (Calif.)
Meader (Mich.)
St. George (N.Y.)

87
Bromwell (Iowa)
Harvey (Ind.)
Harvey (Mich.)
King (N.Y.)

86
Bolton (Ohio)
Chiperfield (Ill.)
Nelsen (Minn.)
Tuck (Va.)
Wharton (N.Y.)
Wilson (Ind.)
Younger (Calif.)

85
Battin (Mont.)
Belcher (Okla.)
Cramer (Fla.)
Cunningham (Neb.)
Goodell (N.Y.)
Haley (Fla.)
McIntire (Maine)
Miller (N.Y.)
Ostertag (N.Y.)

84
Arends (Ill.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Curtis (Mo.)
Pirnie (N.Y.)
Teague (Calif.)

83
Bell (Calif.)
Halleck (Ind.)
Langen (Minn.)
Westland (Wash.)

82
Abbitt (Va.)
Durno (Ore.)
Ford (Mich.)
Rhodes (Ariz.)

81
Garland (Maine)
Pelly (Wash.)
Quie (Minn.)
Smith (Va.)

80
Riley (S.C.)
Siler (Ky.)

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The *ACA-Index* ratings are becoming more and more important as a political tool and have numerous liberal candidates already on the defensive in this year's election. The *ACA-Index* for 1962 will be published by ACA this month. It will not only contain the cumulative ratings but also the scores earned for just the 87th Congress. The latter analysis was made to present the voting habits of members of Congress under the Kennedy Administration.

The *ACA-Index* as well as the *ACA-Congressional Record Digest & Tally* are sent free of charge to ACA supporters who make an annual financial contribution. These contributions are not tax deductible. ACA is a nonprofit political action organization and, therefore, cannot sell its publications.

Soon after the publication of the *ACA-Index* for 1962, ACA for the first time will make a nation-wide announcement of its endorsed candidates for the general election. ACA endorsements are considered to be an authoritative guiding light for conservatives throughout the country.

Printed in this section are ACA's 1962 ratings of all members of the 87th Congress. Except where service began at a later time, the percentage expressed for each Senate and House member dates from 1955 for members of the Senate and from 1957 for House members. A low percentage indicates a very liberal voting record; a high one, a sound, conservative voting performance. For more information about ACA, write Americans for Constitutional Action, 20 E Street, N.W., Washington 1, D.C.

The columns on these pages list:

(1) The names of all 100 senators and 437 House members, less a current vacancy.

(2) The home city of each.

(3) Years of present service (some have had broken periods of service).

(4) *ACA-Index* cumulative ratings through 1962.

In the case of representatives, the number of each one's present congressional district appears at the left. A few states have one or two members who are elected on a state-wide basis; these at-large representatives do not have numbered districts.

Republicans are listed in CAPITAL letters and Democrats in small letters.

The *ACA-Index* is a statistical evaluation of the voting record of United States senators for the period 1955-62 and of members of the House of Representatives for 1957-62, compiled by Americans for Constitutional Action.

US SENATE

Member and Home City	Service Began	ACA
ALABAMA		
Lister Hill, Montgomery	1938	17
John J. Sparkman, Huntsville	1946	14
ALASKA		
Edward L. Bartlett, Juneau	1959	10
Ernest Gruening, Juneau	1959	16
ARIZONA		
BARRY M. GOLDWATER, Phoenix	1953	99
Carl T. Hayden, Phoenix	1927	15
ARKANSAS		
J. Wm. Fulbright, Fayetteville	1945	27
John L. McClellan, Camden	1943	68
CALIFORNIA		
Clair Engle, Red Bluff	1959	4
THOMAS H. KUCHEL, Anaheim	1953	50
COLORADO		
GORDON L. ALLOTT, Lamar	1955	73
John A. Carroll, Denver	1957	1
CONNECTICUT		
PRESCOTT BUSH, Greenwich	1952	65
Thomas J. Dodd, West Hartford	1959	21
DELAWARE		
J. CALEB BOGGS, Wilmington	1961	48
JOHN J. WILLIAMS, Millsboro	1947	97
FLORIDA		
Spessard L. Holland, Bartow	1946	66
George A. Smathers, Miami	1951	41
GEORGIA		
Richard B. Russell, Winder	1933	68
Herman E. Talmadge, Lovejoy	1957	58
HAWAII		
HIRAM L. FONG, Honolulu	1959	44
Oren E. Long, Honolulu	1959	5
IDAHO		
Frank F. Church, Boise	1957	7
LEN B. JORDAN, Grangeville	1962	-
ILLINOIS		
EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, Pekin	1951	78
Paul H. Douglas, Chicago	1949	15
INDIANA		
HOMER E. CAPEHART, Washington	1945	76
Vance Hartke, Evansville	1959	3
IOWA		
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, Cedar Rapids	1945	83
JACK R. MILLER, Sioux City	1961	81
KANSAS		
FRANK CARLSON, Concordia	1950	60
JAMES B. PEARSON, Prairie Village	1962	63
KENTUCKY		
JOHN S. COOPER, Somerset	1956	25
THRUSTON B. MORTON, Louisville	1957	66
LOUISIANA		
Allen J. Ellender, Houma	1937	50
Russell B. Long, Baton Rouge	1948	35
MAINE		
Edmund S. Muskie, Waterville	1959	7
MARGARET C. SMITH, Skowhegan	1949	47
MARYLAND		
J. GLENN BEALL, Frostburg	1953	58
JOHN M. BUTLER, Baltimore	1951	91
MASSACHUSETTS		
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Dover	1945	67
Benj. A. Smith II, Gloucester	1960	4
MICHIGAN		
Philip A. Hart, Mackinac Island	1959	0
Patrick V. McNamara, Detroit	1955	1
MINNESOTA		
Hubert H. Humphrey, Waverly	1949	1
Eugene J. McCarthy, St. Paul	1959	1
MISSISSIPPI		
James O. Eastland, Doddsville	1943	68
John C. Stennis, DeKalb	1947	64
MISSOURI		
W. Stuart Symington, St. Louis	1953	4
Edward V. Long, Clarksville	1960	0
MONTANA		
Michael J. Mansfield, Missoula	1953	9
Lee Metcalf, Helena	1961	4
NEBRASKA		
CARL T. CURTIS, Minden	1955	92
ROMAN L. HRUSKA, Omaha	1954	94
NEVADA		
Alan Bible, Reno	1954	31
Howard W. Cannon, Las Vegas	1959	19
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
NORRIS COTTON, Lebanon	1954	88
MAURICE J. MURPHY, JR., Portsmouth	1961	88
NEW JERSEY		
CLIFFORD P. CASE, Rahway	1955	36
Harrison A. Williams, Jr., Westfield	1959	6
NEW MEXICO		
Clinton P. Anderson, Albuquerque	1949	26
Dennis Chavez, Albuquerque	1935	22
NEW YORK		
JACOB K. JAVITS, New York City	1957	27
KENNETH B. KEATING, Rochester	1959	53
NORTH CAROLINA		
Samuel J. Ervin, Jr., Morganton	1954	49
B. Everett Jordan, Saxapahaw	1958	54
NORTH DAKOTA		
Quentin N. Burdick, Fargo	1960	0
MILTON R. YOUNG, La Moure	1945	55
OHIO		
Frank J. Lausche, Cleveland	1957	79
Stephen M. Young, Cleveland	1959	8
OKLAHOMA		
Robert S. Kerr, Oklahoma City	1949	29
A.S. Mike Monroney, Okla. City	1951	17
OREGON		
Wayne L. Morse, Eugene	1945	4
Maurine B. Neuberger, Portland	1960	0
PENNSYLVANIA		
Joseph S. Clark, Philadelphia	1957	5
HUGH D. SCOTT, Philadelphia	1959	54
RHODE ISLAND		
John O. Pastore, Cranston	1950	14
Claiborne Pell, Newport	1961	11
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Olin D. Johnston, Spartanburg	1945	31
J. Strom Thurmond, Aiken	1956	86
SOUTH DAKOTA		
JOSEPH H. BOTTUM, JR., Sioux Falls	1962	100
KARL E. MUNDT, Madison	1948	77
TENNESSEE		
Albert A. Gore, Carthage	1953	11
Estes Kefauver, Lookout Mountain	1949	6
TEXAS		
JOHN G. TOWER, Wichita Falls	1961	100
Ralph W. Yarborough, Austin	1957	6
UTAH		
WALLACE F. BENNETT, Salt Lake City	1951	86
Frank E. Moss, Salt Lake City	1959	6
VERMONT		
GEORGE D. AIKEN, Putney	1941	41
WINSTON L. PROUTY, Newport	1959	57
VIRGINIA		
Harry F. Byrd, Berryville	1933	94
A. Willis Robertson, Lexington	1946	85
WASHINGTON		
Henry M. Jackson, Everett	1953	2
Warren G. Magnuson, Seattle	1944	8
WEST VIRGINIA		
Robert C. Byrd, Sophia	1959	18
Jennings Randolph, Elkins	1958	5
WISCONSIN		
William Proxmire, Madison	1957	20
ALEXANDER WILEY, Chippewa Falls	1939	40
WYOMING		
John J. Hickey, Cheyenne	1961	13
Gale W. McGee, Laramie	1959	3

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Member and Home City	Service Began	ACA
ALABAMA		
1 Frank W. Boykin, Mobile	1935	35
2 George M. Grant, Troy	1938	37
3 Geo W. Andrews, Union Springs	1944	41
4 Kenneth A. Roberts, Anniston	1951	16
5 Albert Rains, Gadsden	1945	10
6 A. I. Selden, Jr., Greensboro	1953	37
7 Carl Elliott, Jasper	1949	10
8 Robert E. Jones, Scottsboro	1947	11
9 G. Huddleston, Jr., Birmingham	1955	27
ALASKA		
Ralph J. Rivers, Fairbanks	1959	0
ARIZONA		
1 JOHN J. RHODES, Mesa	1953	82
2 Morris K. Udall, Tucson	1961	18
ARKANSAS		
1 Ezekiel C. Gathings, W. Memphis	1939	51
2 Wilbur D. Mills, Kensett	1939	27
3 James W. Trimble, Berryville	1945	9
4 Oren Harris, El Dorado	1941	32
5 T. Dale Alford, Little Rock	1959	50
6 Catherine D. Norrell, Monticello	1961	56
CALIFORNIA - Los Angeles		
15 GORDON L. McDONOUGH, Los Angeles	1945	88
16 A.E. BELL, Jr., Santa Monica	1961	83
17 Cecil R. King, Los Angeles	1942	1
18 CRAIG HOSMER, Long Beach	1953	76
19 Chet Holifield, Montebello	1943	11
20 H. ALLEN SMITH, Glendale	1957	100
21 EDGAR W. HIESTAND, Burbank	1953	97
22 James C. Corman, Van Nuys	1961	0
23 Clyde Doyle, South Gate	1949	3
24 GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB, Los Angeles	1953	97
25 JOHN H. ROUSSELOT, San Gabriel	1961	100
26 James Roosevelt, Los Angeles	1955	3
CALIFORNIA - Outside Los Angeles		
1 Clement W. Miller, Corte Madera	1959	2
2 Harold T. Johnson, Roseville	1959	4
3 John E. Moss, Sacramento	1953	3
4 Wm S. MAILLIARD, San Francisco	1953	65
5 John F. Shelley, San Francisco	1949	5
6 JOHN F. BALDWIN, Jr., Martinez	1955	42
7 Jeffery Cohelan, Berkeley	1959	4
8 George P. Miller, Alameda	1945	3
9 J. ARTHUR YOUNGER, San Mateo	1953	86
10 CHARLES S. GUBSER, Gilroy	1953	76
11 John J. McFall, Manteca	1957	4
12 B. F. Sisk, Fresno	1955	3
13 CHARLES M. TEAGUE, Ojai	1955	84
14 Harlan F. Hagen, Hanford	1953	13
27 Harry R. Sheppard, Yucaipa	1937	9
28 JAMES B. UTT, Santa Ana	1953	97
29 Dalip S. Saund, Westmorland	1957	5
30 ROBERT C. WILSON, Chula Vista	1953	79
COLORADO		
1 Byron G. Rogers, Denver	1951	11
2 PETER H. DOMINICK, Englewood	1961	68
3 J. EDGAR CHENOWETH, Trinidad	1951	65
4 Wayne N. Aspinall, Palisade	1949	7
CONNECTICUT		
1 Emilio Q. Daddario, Hartford	1959	10
2 H. SEELY-BROWN, Jr., Pomfret Ctr.	1961	45
3 Robert N. Giaimo, North Haven	1959	10
4 ABNER W. SIBAL, Norwalk	1961	64
5 John S. Monagan, Waterbury	1959	23
AL Frank Kowalski, Meriden	1959	4
DELAWARE		
H.B. McDowell, Jr., Middletown	1959	6
FLORIDA		
1 Wm. C. CRAMER, St. Petersburg	1955	85
2 C. E. Bennett, Jacksonville	1949	35
3 Robt L.F. Sikes, Crestview	1945	43
4 Dante B. Fascell, Miami	1955	26
5 A.S. Herlong, Jr., Leesburg	1949	66
6 Paul G. Rogers, W. Palm Beach	1955	59
7 James A. Haley, Sarasota	1953	85
8 D. R. Matthews, Gainesville	1953	42
GEORGIA		
1 G. Elliott Hagan, Sylvania	1961	43
2 John L. Pilcher, Meigs	1953	39
3 Elijah L. Forrester, Leesburg	1951	58
4 John J. Flynt, Jr., Griffin	1954	64
5 James C. Davis, Stone Mountain	1947	69
6 Carl Vinson, Milledgeville	1914	30
7 John W. Davis, Summerville	1961	35
8 Iris F. Blitch, Homerville	1955	45
9 Phillip M. Landrum, Jasper	1953	43
10 Robt G. Stephens, Jr., Athens	1961	50
HAWAII		
Daniel K. Inouye, Honolulu	1959	0
IDAHO		
1 Gracie B. Pfost, Nampa	1953	12
2 Ralph R. Harding, Blackfoot	1961	0
ILLINOIS - Chicago		
1 William L. Dawson, Chicago	1943	0
2 Barratt O'Hara, Chicago	1953	4
3 William T. Murphy, Chicago	1959	2
4 EDW. J. DERWINSKI, Chicago	1959	94
5 John C. Kluczynski, Chicago	1951	6
6 Thomas J. O'Brien, Chicago	1943	6
7 Roland V. Libonati, Chicago	1957	5
8 D. D. Rostenkowski, Chicago	1959	0
9 Sidney R. Yates, Chicago	1949	9
10 HAROLD R. COLLIER, Berwyn	1957	90
11 Roman C. Pucinski, Chicago	1959	2
12 Edw. R. Finnegan, Chicago	1961	0
13 MARGUERITE S. CHURCH, Evanston	1951	90
ILLINOIS - Outside Chicago		
14 ELMER J. HOFFMAN, Wheaton	1959	100
15 NOAH M. MASON, Oglesby	1937	96
16 JOHN B. ANDERSON, Rockford	1961	95
17 LESLIE C. ARENDS, Melvin	1935	84
18 ROBERT H. MICHEL, Peoria	1957	91
19 ROBERT H. CHIPERFIELD, Canton	1939	86
20 PAUL FINDLEY, Pittsfield	1961	100
21 Peter F. Mack, Jr., Carlinville	1949	5
22 WILLIAM L. SPRINGER, Champaign	1951	77
23 George E. Shipley, Olney	1959	10
24 Melvin Price, E. St. Louis	1945	0
25 Kenneth J. Gray, W. Frankfort	1955	11
INDIANA		
1 Ray J. Madden, Gary	1943	6
2 CHARLES A. HALLECK, Rensselaer	1935	83
3 John Brademas, South Bend	1959	0
4 E. ROSS ADAIR, Fort Wayne	1951	90
5 J. Edward Roush, Huntington	1959	9
6 R. L. ROUDEBUSH, Noblesville	1961	91
7 WILLIAM G. BRAY, Martinsville	1951	73
8 Winfield K. Denton, Evansville	1955	15
9 EARL WILSON, Bedford	1961	86
10 RALPH HARVEY, Henry County	1961	87
11 DONALD C. BRUCE, Indianapolis	1961	100
IOWA		
1 FRED SCHWENGEL, Davenport	1955	74
2 JAMES E. BROMWELL, Cedar Rapids	1961	87
3 HAROLD R. GROSS, Waterloo	1949	93
4 JOHN KYL, Bloomfield	1959	88
5 Neal Smith, Altoona	1959	10
6 Merwin Coad, Boone	1957	8
7 BEN F. JENSEN, Exira	1939	89
8 CHARLES B. HOEVEN, Alton	1943	90
KANSAS		
1 WILLIAM H. AVERY, Wakefield	1955	76
2 ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH, Lawrence	1961	68
3 WALTER L. McVEY, Independence	1961	74
4 GARNER E. SHRIVER, Wichita	1961	78
5 J. Floyd Breeding, Rolla	1957	14
6 ROBERT DOLE, Russell	1961	91
KENTUCKY		
1 Frank A. Stubblefield, Murray	1959	10
2 Wm H. Natcher, Bowling Green	1953	15
3 Frank W. Burke, Louisville	1959	6
4 Frank Chelf, Lebanon	1945	20
5 Brent Spence, Fort Thomas	1931	12
6 John C. Watts, Nicholasville	1951	24
7 Carl D. Perkins, Hindman	1949	11
8 EUGENE SILER, Williamsburg	1955	80
LOUISIANA		
1 F. Edward Hebert, New Orleans	1941	47
2 Hale Boggs, New Orleans	1947	13
3 Edwin E. Willis, St. Martinville	1949	33
4 Joseph Waggoner, Plain Dealing	1961	100
5 Otto E. Passman, Monroe	1947	49
6 James H. Morrison, Hammond	1943	15
7 T. A. Thompson, Ville Platte	1953	26
8 Harold B. McSween, Alexandria	1959	65
MAINE		
1 PETER A. GARLAND, Saco	1961	81
2 S. R. TUPPER, Boothbay Harbor	1961	48
3 CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE, Perham	1951	85
MARYLAND		
1 Thomas F. Johnson, Berlin	1959	27
2 Daniel B. Brewster, Glyndon	1959	21
3 Edward A. Garmatz, Baltimore	1947	12
4 George H. Fallon, Baltimore	1945	28
5 Richard E. Lankford, Annapolis	1955	15
6 C. McC. MATHIAS, Jr., Frederick	1961	48
7 Samuel N. Friedel, Baltimore	1953	8
MASSACHUSETTS		
1 SILVIO O. CONTE, Pittsfield	1959	62
2 Edward P. Boland, Springfield	1953	19
3 Philip J. Philbin, Clinton	1943	17
4 Harold D. Donohue, Worcester	1947	14
5 F. BRADFORD MORSE, Lowell	1961	52
6 WILLIAM H. BATES, Salem	1950	74
7 Thomas J. Lane, Lawrence	1941	11
8 Tobert H. Macdonald, Malden	1955	15
9 HASTINGS KEITH, W. Bridgewater	1959	75
10 LAURENCE CURTIS, Boston	1953	74
11 Thos. O'Neill, Jr., Cambridge	1953	8
12 John W. McCormack, Dorchester	1928	-*
13 James A. Burke, Milton	1959	8
14 J.W. Martin, Jr., N. Attleboro	1925	71
MICHIGAN - Detroit		
1 Lucien N. Nedzi, Detroit	1961	0
13 Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Detroit	1955	3
14 Harold M. Ryan, Detroit	1962	0
15 John D. Dingell, Detroit	1955	8
16 John Lesinski, Dearborn	1951	13
17 Martha W. Griffiths, Detroit	1955	10
MICHIGAN - Outside Detroit		
2 GEORGE MEADER, Ann Arbor	1951	88
3 A. E. JOHANSEN, Battle Creek	1955	99
4 CLARE E. HOFFMAN, Allegan	1935	96
5 G. R. FORD, Jr., Grand Rapids	1949	82
6 C. E. CHAMBERLAIN, E. Lansing	1957	76
7 James G. O'Hara, Utica	1959	2
8 JAMES HARVEY, Saginaw	1961	87
9 ROBT. P. GRIFFIN, Traverse City	1957	77
10 ELFORD A. CEDERBERG, Bay City	1953	92
11 VICTOR A. KNOX, Sault Ste. Marie	1953	76
12 JOHN B. BENNETT, Ontonagon	1947	46
18 Wm. S. BROOMFIELD, Royal Oak	1957	68
MINNESOTA		
1 ALBERT H. QUIE, Dennison	1958	81
2 ANCHER NELSEN, Hutchinson	1959	86
3 CLARK MacGREGOR, Plymouth	1961	73
4 Joseph E. Karth, St. Paul	1959	0
5 WALTER H. JUDD, Minneapolis	1943	73
6 Fred Marshall, Grove City	1949	32
7 H. CARL ANDERSEN, Tyler	1939	76
8 John A. Blatnik, Chisholm	1947	7
9 ODIN LANGEN, Kennedy	1959	83
MISSISSIPPI		
1 Thomas G. Abernethy, Okolona	1943	61
2 Jamie L. Whitten, Charleston	1941	62
3 Frank E. Smith, Greenwood	1951	24
4 John B. Williams, Raymond	1947	78
5 Arthur Winstead, Philadelphia	1943	68

* Speaker McCormack's 1961 ACA rating: 0

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Name_____

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Member and Home City	Service Began	ACA
6 William M. Colmer, Pascagoula	1933	71
MISSOURI		
1 Frank M. Karsten, St. Louis	1947	1
2 THOS. B. CURTIS, St. Louis	1951	84
3 Leonor K. Sullivan, St. Louis	1953	4
4 Wm. J. Randall, Independence	1959	2
5 Richard Bolling, Kansas City	1949	2
6 W.R. Hull, Jr., Weston	1955	44
7 DURWARD G. HALL, Springfield	1961	95
8 Richard Ichord, Houston	1961	26
9 Clarence Cannon, Elsberry	1923	41
10 Paul C. Jones, Kennett	1948	47
11 Morgan M. Moulder, Camdenton	1949	18
MONTANA		
1 Arnold Olsen, Helena	1961	0
2 JAMES F. BATTIN, Billings	1961	85
NEBRASKA		
1 PHILLIP H. WEAVER, Falls City	1955	71
2 GLENN C. CUNNINGHAM, Omaha	1957	85
3 RALPH F. BEERMAN, Dakota City	1961	100
4 DAVID T. MARTIN, Kearney	1961	91
NEVADA		
Walter S. Baring, Reno	1957	23
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
1 C. E. MERROW, Center Ossipee	1943	25
2 PERKINS BASS, Peterborough	1955	76
NEW JERSEY		
1 WILLIAM T. CAHILL, Collingswood	1959	58
2 MILTON W. GLENN, Margate City	1957	73
3 JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS, Rumson	1943	79
4 Frank Thompson, Jr., Trenton	1955	7
5 P.FRELINGHUYSEN,Jr., Morristown	1953	71
6 FLORENCE P. DWYER, Elizabeth	1957	58
7 Wm. B. WIDNALL, Saddle River	1950	67
8 Charles S. Joelson, Paterson	1961	9
9 FRANK C. OSMERS, Jr., Tenafly	1951	65
10 Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Newark	1949	10
11 Vacant		
12 GEO. M. WALLHAUSER, Maplewood	1959	59
13 C. E. Gallagher, Bayonne	1959	4
14 D. V. Daniels, Jersey City	1959	6
NEW MEXICO		
AL Joseph M. Montoya, Santa Fe	1957	10
AL Thomas G. Morris, Tucumcari	1959	23
NEW YORK - New York City		
4 SEYMOUR HALPERN, Forest Hills	1959	37
5 Joseph P. Addabbo, Ozone Park	1961	14
6 Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Queens	1962	0
7 J. J. Delaney, Long Island City	1949	13
8 Victor L. Anfuso, Brooklyn	1955	2
9 Eugene J. Keogh, Brooklyn	1937	5
10 Edna F. Kelly, Brooklyn	1949	11
11 Emanuel Celler, Brooklyn	1923	7
12 Hugh L. Carey, Brooklyn	1961	4
13 Abraham J. Multer, Brooklyn	1947	4
14 John J. Rooney, Brooklyn	1944	7
15 JOHN H. RAY, Staten Island	1953	92
16 Adam C. Powell, New York City	1945	17
17 JOHN V. LINDSAY, New York City	1959	52
18 A. E. Santangelo, New York City	1957	5
19 Leonard Farbstein, N.Y. City	1957	8
20 William F. Ryan, New York City	1961	0
21 Herbert Zelenko, New York City	1955	5
22 James C. Healey, Bronx	1956	4
23 Jacob H. Gilbert, Bronx	1960	0
24 Charles A. Buckley, Bronx	1935	0
25 PAUL A. FINO, Bronx	1953	38
NEW YORK - Outside New York City		
1 Otis G. Pike, Riverhead	1961	30
2 STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN, Roslyn	1953	90
3 FRANK J. BECKER, Lynbrook	1953	91
26 EDWIN B. DOOLEY, Mamaroneck	1957	63
27 ROBERT R. BARRY, Yonkers	1959	78
28 KATHARINE ST. GEORGE, Tuxedo Pk	1947	88
29 J.ERNEST WHARTON,Richmondville	1951	86
30 Leo W. O'Brien, Albany	1952	23
31 C. J. KING, Saratoga Springs	1961	87
32 S.S. Stratton, Schenectady	1959	24
33 CLARENCE E. KILBURN, Malone	1940	91
34 ALEXANDER PIRNIE, Utica	1959	84
35 R. WALTER RIEHLMAN, Tully	1947	79
36 JOHN TABER, Auburn	1923	93
37 HOWARD W. ROBISON, Owego	1958	89
38 JESSICA McC. WEIS, Rochester	1959	76
39 HAROLD C. OSTERTAG, Attica	1951	85
40 WILLIAM E. MILLER, Olcott	1951	85
41 Thaddeus J. Dulski, Buffalo	1959	22
42 JOHN R. PILLION, Hamburg	1953	96
43 CHARLES E. GOODELL, Jamestown	1959	85
NORTH CAROLINA		
1 Herbert C. Bonner, Washington	1940	31
2 Lawrence H. Fountain, Tarboro	1953	47
3 David N. Henderson, Wallace	1961	36
4 Harold D. Cooley, Nashville	1934	35
5 Ralph J. Scott, Danbury	1957	60
6 Horace R. Kornegay, Greensboro	1961	32
7 Alton Lennon, Wilmington	1957	57
8 A. Paul Kitchin, Wadesboro	1957	65
9 Hugh Q. Alexander, Kannapolis	1953	61
10 CHARLES R. JONAS, Lincolnton	1953	89
11 Basil L. Whitener, Gastonia	1957	59
12 Roy A. Taylor, Black Mountain	1960	48
NORTH DAKOTA		
AL DON L. SHORT, Medora	1959	94
AL HJALMAR NYGAARD, Enderlin	1961	71
OHIO		
1 GORDON H. SCHERER, Cincinatti	1953	100
2 DONALD B. CLANCY, Cincinnati	1961	96
3 PAUL F. SCHENCK, Dayton	1951	93
4 WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH, Piqua	1947	91
5 DELBERT L. LATTA, Bowling Green	1959	88
6 WILLIAM H. HARSHA,Jr.,Portsmouth	1961	77
7 CLARENCE J. BROWN, Blanchester	1939	94
8 JACKSON E. BETTS, Findlay	1951	96
9 Thomas L. Ashley, Waterville	1955	11
10 Walter H. Moeller, Lancaster	1959	33
11 Robert E. Cook, Ravenna	1959	11
12 SAMUEL L. DEVINE, Columbus	1959	98
13 CHARLES A. MOSHER, Oberlin	1961	74
14 WILLIAM H. AYRES, Akron	1951	74
15 TOM V. MOOREHEAD, Zanesville	1961	77
16 FRANK T. BOW, Canton	1951	96
17 JOHN M. ASHBROOK, Johnstown	1961	100
18 Wayne L. Hays, Flushing	1949	16
19 Michael J. Kirwan, Youngstown	1937	15
20 Michael A. Feighan, Cleveland	1943	23
21 Charles A.Vanik, Cleveland	1955	21
22 FRANCES P. BOLTON, Lyndhurst	1940	86
23 Wm. E. MINSHALL,Jr.,Rocky River	1955	94
OKLAHOMA		
1 PAGE BELCHER, Enid	1951	85
2 Ed Edmondson, Muskogee	1953	6
3 Carl B. Albert, McAlester	1947	4
4 Tom Steed, Shawnee	1949	26
5 John Jarman, Oklahoma City	1951	41
6 Victor Wickersham, Mangum	1961	9
OREGON		
1 WALTER NORBLAD, Stayton	1946	70
2 Albert C. Ullman, Baker	1957	1
3 Edith Green, Portland	1955	10
4 EDWIN R. DURNO, Medford	1961	82
PENNSYLVANIA - Philadelphia		
1 Wm. A. Barrett, Phila.	1949	6
2 Kathryn E. Granahan, Phila.	1956	9
3 James A. Byrne, Phila.	1953	8
4 Robert N. C. Nix, Phila.	1958	9
5 Wm. J. Green, Jr., Phila.	1949	8
6 Herman Toll, Phila.	1959	4
PENNSYLVANIA - Pittsburgh		
27 JAMES G. FULTON, Pittsburgh	1945	38
28 Wm. S. Moorhead, Pittsburgh	1959	6
29 ROBERT J. CORBETT, Pittsburgh	1945	40
30 Elmer J. Holland, Pittsburgh	1956	4
PENNSYLVANIA - Outside Big Cities		
7 Wm. H. MILLIKEN,Jr. Sharon Hill	1959	73
8 W. S. CURTIN, Morrisville	1957	61
9 PAUL B. DAGUE, Downingtown	1947	90
10 Wm. W. SCRANTON, Dalton	1961	52
11 D. J. Flood, Wilkes-Barre	1955	9
12 IVOR D. FENTON, Mahanoy City	1939	70
13 RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, Lansdale	1961	77
14 George M. Rhodes, Reading	1949	10
15 Francis E. Walter, Easton	1933	20
16 JOHN C. KUNKEL, Harrisburg	1961	65
17 H. T. SCHNEEBELI, Williamsport	1960	69
18 J. IRVING WHALLEY, Windber	1960	59
19 GEO. A. GOODLING, Loganville	1961	78
20 JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, Altoona	1947	56
21 John H. Dent, Jeannette	1958	20
22 JOHN P. SAYLOR, Johnstown	1949	58
23 LEON H. GAVIN, Oil City	1943	70
24 CARROLL D. KEARNS, Farrell	1947	58
25 Frank M. Clark, Bessemer	1955	21
26 Thos. E. Morgan, Fredericktown	1945	9
RHODE ISLAND		
1 F. J. St. Germain, Woonsocket	1961	5
2 John E. Fogarty, Harmony	1945	20
SOUTH CAROLINA		
1 L. Mendel Rivers, Charleston	1941	49
2 Corrine Riley, Sumter	1962	80
3 Wm. J. B. Dorn, Greenwood	1951	74
4 Robt. T. Ashmore, Greenville	1953	69
5 Robt W. Hemphill, Chester	1957	42
6 John L. McMillan, Florence	1939	59
SOUTH DAKOTA		
1 BEN REIFEL, Aberdeen	1961	71
2 ELLIS Y. BERRY, McLaughlin	1951	88
TENNESSEE		
1 LOUISE G. REECE, Johnson City	1961	65
2 HOWARD H. BAKER, Huntsville	1951	56
3 J. B. Frazier,Jr., Chattanooga	1949	26
4 Joe L. Evins, Smithville	1947	28
5 J. Carlton Loser, Nashville	1957	32
6 Ross Bass, Pulaski	1955	12
7 Tom Murray, Jackson	1943	69
8 Robt. A. Everett, Union City	1958	30
9 Clifford Davis, Memphis	1940	29
TEXAS		
1 Wright Patman, Texarkana	1929	21
2 Jack B. Brooks, Beaumont	1953	14
3 Lindley Beckworth, Gladewater	1957	27
4 Ray Roberts,	1962	50
5 BRUCE ALGER, Dallas	1955	100
6 Olin E. Teague, College Station	1946	51
7 John Dowdy, Athens	1952	72
8 Albert Thomas, Houston	1937	18
9 Clark W. Thompson, Galveston	1947	21
10 Homer Thornberry, Austin	1949	16
11 William R. Poage, Waco	1937	38
12 James C. Wright, Jr., Ft. Worth	1955	30
13 Graham Purcell, Wichita Falls	1962	40
14 John Young, Corpus Christi	1957	29
15 Joe M. Kilgore, McAllen	1955	59
16 J. T. Rutherford, Odessa	1955	42
17 Omar Burleson, Anson	1947	65
18 Walter E. Rogers, Pampa	1951	48
19 George H. Mahon, Lubbock	1935	49
20 H. B. Gonzalez, San Antonio	1961	9
21 O. Clark Fisher, San Angelo	1943	68
22 Robert R. Casey, Houston	1959	67
UTAH		
1 M. Blaine Peterson, Ogden	1961	10
2 David S. King, Salt Lake City	1959	14
VERMONT		
ROBT. T. STAFFORD, Rutland	1961	55
VIRGINIA		
1 Thos. N. Downing, Newport News	1959	64
2 Porter Hardy, Jr., Churchland	1947	49
3 J. Vaughan Gary, Richmond	1945	79
4 W. M. Abbitt, Appomattox	1948	82
5 Wm. M. Tuck, S. Boston	1953	86
6 RICHARD H. POFF, Radford	1953	95
7 Burr P. Harrison, Winchester	1946	77
8 Howard W. Smith, Broad Run	1931	81
9 W. Pat Jennings, Marion	1955	27
10 JOEL T. BROYHILL, Arlington	1953	84
WASHINGTON		
1 THOMAS M. PELLY, Bainbridge Is.	1953	81
2 JACK WESTLAND, Everett	1953	83
3 Julia B. Hansen, Cathlamet	1960	0
4 CATHERINE MAY, Yakima	1959	73
5 WALTER F. HORAN, Wenatchee	1943	58
6 THOR C. TOLLEFSON, Tacoma	1947	46
7 Donald H. Magnuson, Seattle	1953	6
WEST VIRGINIA		
1 ARCH A. MOORE, Jr., Glendale	1957	62
2 Harley O. Staggers, Keyser	1949	19
3 Cleveland M. Bailey, Clarksburg	1949	22
4 Kenneth Hechler, Huntington	1959	13
5 Elizabeth Kee, Bluefield	1951	15
6 John M. Slack, Jr., Charleston	1959	12
WISCONSIN		
1 H. C. SHADEBERG, Burlington	1961	96
2 Robt. W. Kastenmeier, Watertown	1959	6
3 V. W. THOMSON, Richland Center	1961	77
4 C. J. Zablocki, Milwaukee	1949	10
5 Henry S. Reuss, Milwaukee	1955	1
6 Wm. K. VAN PELT, Fond du Lac	1951	90
7 MELVIN R. LAIRD, Marshfield	1953	90
8 JOHN W. BYRNES, Green Bay	1945	89
9 L. R. Johnson,Black River Falls	1953	8
10 ALVIN E. O'KONSKI, Mercer	1943	39
WYOMING		
Wm. H. HARRISON, Sheridan	1961	78

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Section Four
October 20, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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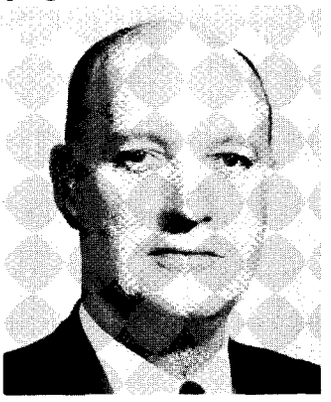
Connecticut Capers

The Bailey 'Code' of Fair Campaign Practices

By THEODORE L. HUMES

IN A RECENT CEREMONY appropriately marked by a panoply of publicity and pomp, Democratic National Chairman (and Connecticut State Democratic Chairman) John M. Bailey, along with his counterpart on the Republican side, Representative William E. Miller of New York, affixed his signature to a "Code of Fair Campaign Practices." Among other things, the code calls for a campaign in the "best American tradition free from distortion and misrepresentation" and particularly a campaign "free from any appeal to prejudice based upon race, creed or national origin."

Even before the ink was dry on his signature, Boss Bailey embarked on a campaign which made a complete nullity of the whole concept of fair play and clean politics. Indeed, Mr. Bailey approached the signing ceremony fresh from his triumphant direction of Connecticut's Democratic nominating convention in Hartford, where the whole premise of fair play and selection of candidates on the basis of ability and qualification was tossed into the ash can of bigotry and nationality prejudice.



BAILEY

"The democracy of that convention, let it be stated frankly," commented the Washington *Evening Star* on July 16, "was as far removed from the democracy of a high school civics text as can be imagined."

From Hartford, Bailey went to Charleston, West Virginia, capital of the state which gave John F. Kennedy his initial 1960 primary victory, and told a cheering audience of payrollers: "The general welfare clause of the Constitution does not include bankers, investors or bondholders, but is for the poor people of this country."

It was more of the same in Spring Lake, New Jersey, on September 14, when Bailey said: "The Republicans are eager to defeat Kennedy supporters because they are angry over his firm actions to protect the consumer in the case of the steel-price gouge. They blame the stock market drop on the fact that the President refuses to grant special privileges to big business. The Republicans are angry over the President's suggestion that tax loopholes for the rich be closed and that wealthy people who live on dividends and interest should pay taxes on this income just like other Americans pay it on their salaries."

THESE STATEMENTS represent the last refuge of a demagogue who, in the realization that the Kennedy Administration is unable to cope with advancing Sovietism, a stagnating economy beset by crushing taxes and government intervention, and a complete collapse of responsible leadership in Washington, is resorting to appeals to class distinctions in order to divide the American public at a time when national unity in the face of the Soviet threat is essential.

Paul Healy writing in the New York *Daily News* of September 14 called it a "speech of significance." He added: "When Kennedy starts his political swings next month, he will not, of course, copy Bailey. That does not mean that while he takes the high road, he does not know what is happening on the low road in the campaign. Bailey is his man. This demagogic raising of the so-called class issue indicates that all stops are to be pulled in an effort to hold present congressional majorities. Unable to meet the real issues head on, Democratic strategy calls for trying to raise some retaliatory issue with vote-pulling power."

It is in the area of racial, ethnic and religious bigotry and prejudice, however, that Bailey has made a mockery of fair campaign practices and the free political processess. A major element of Bailey's strategy in Connecticut was a bald, naked appeal to nationality prejudice to elect a congressman at large.

It presents the following proposition: THE SAME MAN WHO ASKED THE VOTER TO BE FREE OF BIGOTRY IN NOVEMBER, 1960, ASKS THE SAME VOTER TO BE BIGOTED IN NOVEMBER, 1962.

In the Connecticut Democratic conventions in Hartford last July, which proceedings have been amply chronicled, Mr. Bailey ruthlessly bludgeoned the delegates into denying Representative-at-Large Frank Kowalski the 20 per cent of the convention votes needed to force a primary between himself and former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff for the Democratic senatorial nomination.

Because Bailey would not meet Kowalski's terms as the congressman-at-large candidate to succeed himself, Kowalski walked away from the nomination.

With the complete ticket filled, save for the "traditional Polish-American," Bailey picked an obscure 39-year-old attorney from Bristol named Bernard Grabowski—who admittedly came to the convention as a sightseer pure and simple. Quite literally at the eleventh hour a hasty check was made of Mr. Grabowski's qualifications. This done, Grabowski was pressed into service by Boss Bailey.

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KOWALSKI

RIBICOFF

An embittered former Democratic congressman from Fairfield who had announced for the position of congressman at large some months earlier, and who had all the necessary qualifications, said: "My chief problem was in not having the right last three letters in my name."

THIS FLAGRANT APPEAL to purely ethnic considerations in selecting the ticket, to the complete disregard of qualification and ability, has created a furor in much of the Connecticut press and, in some cases, outside the state.

The Hartford *Courant* editorialized on August 23: "Indeed, one of the more recent classics [of archaic political thinking] was that of the citizen of Polish descent who went to the state Democratic convention as an onlooker, and came away from it with the nomination for congressman at large. He may be a most estimable gentleman, but that isn't why he got the nod over other capable candidates."

The Stamford *Advocate* said bluntly: "There is something wrong with political machine-building based on the ethnic, religious or racial origin of voters. It is wrong because it defies the principles of equality before the law on which our Nation was founded. It prevents the growth of a national culture in the 50 states. It reverses the spirit of the 'melting pot' which until the Thirties was being so patiently and laboriously developed. It encourages and promotes bias, prejudices and bigotry.

"When the office of congressman at large is allocated to persons of Polish descent, you find no Polish names from Connecticut in the Senate or in the State Executive Mansion. Ask not what the candidate believes in, if anything. Look to his ethnic background!"

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Henry J. Zagorski of Meridan, who is running as Republican candidate for state comptroller—selected because he has been an outstanding comptroller of his city, is an accomplished accountant and has been particularly active in GOP affairs—said in Cheshire last month: "Mr. Bailey replaced Mr. Kowalski with a Polish-American in the smug conviction that everyone of Polish extraction would thereafter run to the voting booth and pull the Democratic lever.

"Bailey said in effect: 'It's right for you Polish-Americans to be congressman at large but don't aspire to be governor or United States senator. Be content to stay in your little corner.' "

But it has remained for the Washington *Evening Star* on July 16 to render the most trenchant commentary on the political standards of Boss Bailey:

"In the course of his maneuverings, the chairman has denied preferment to able men for reasons that were no fault of their own and he had raised others beyond their expectation for reasons equally irrevelant to their own merits!"

A recent article in the New York City Polish-language publication *Nowy Swiat* (New World), widely distributed in Connecticut, put it about as bluntly as you can: "This year only the Democratic party has put one of our countrymen in this particular position [congressman at large] and for that you are forewarned that unless you elect [boost] Bernard Grabowski, then the Polish people of Connecticut are going to lose this important position of congressman at large!"

LUPTON

So, as the campaign nears November 6, it remains for Connecticut voters to decide the issue: Boss Bailey's hand-picked candidate or the conservative John M. Lupton, a former state legislator with an outstanding record—the choice of the Constitution State's free and open Republican nominating convention.

THE GREATEST POLITICAL CRIME of the century is not larceny—but hypocrisy! The same man who built an entire campaign in 1960 around appeals to be free of bigotry when electing a President is asking the citizens of Connecticut in November, 1962, to be bigoted and vote for a man simply because he is a Polish-American.

Boss Bailey's class-issue appeal and his performance in Hartford last July have been amply chronicled throughout the land; yet, for all their unctuous concern about "extremists" and "demagogues," neither syndicated columnist Ralph McGill, nor editor Palmer Hoyt, both members of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, have uttered a word about Bailey's tactics.

The committee, in urging all candidates for office to execute the code, expresses its confidence that all candidates will campaign in the "American tradition of fair play. Doing so will be your endorsement of the principle that public office must be sought as well as occupied on a decent ethical level . . . it will help us to put down the notion that politics is a dirty business."

Not if John Bailey has anything to say about it.

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Section Five
October 20, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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How JFK Uses News As an Instrument of Power

By RAYMOND MOLEY
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Image-making as an accessory of power politics originated neither on Madison Avenue nor on the Potomac.

Mother Nature did not put the hump on the back of Richard III. That was the creation of the hired scribblers of Henry VII in the years after the last of the Plantagenet kings fell fighting bravely on Bosworth Field. But Richard was no moral monster, nor would any grand jury on the evidence we now have indict him for the murder of the young princes.

Niccolo Machiavelli, an indefatigable, incorruptible public servant, wrote not what he was but what he saw of the corruption of his age, and has had a bad "press" down the centuries.

Pamphleteering of a political nature originated well before the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 which placed William and Mary on the throne of England. But in the rise of parliamentary and party government, the pamphlet and then the press became an instrument of representative government. This was inevitable, since a party in power required not only the support of a parliamentary majority but public support or acquiescence. Patronage cared for majority support in Parliament, and patronage was used to assure the support of those with the means and genius to activate opinion elsewhere. The pamphlet, as it came to be regular in periodical appearance and name, was the beginning of what after many years earned the title "a free press." But in those years of the eighteenth century it was anything but free.

Sir Robert Walpole, Prime Minister from 1721 to 1742, developed to a fine art the capacity to manage not only Parliament but the early forerunners of the press. He devised means to cajole, bribe or intimidate those who wrote for the public. When Walpole fell from power it was shown by a Committee of Secrecy that in ten years 50,000 pounds sterling of secret service money had been spent on pamphleteers and Treasury newspapers. Even his illustrious successor, the elder Pitt, found it necessary to subsidize several newspapers as well as theatrical producers, publishers and booksellers. Later, at the time of the French Revolution, nine of Britain's most respected newspapers were on a regular annual allowance. Official advertising was also used copiously to influence those who disseminated news. The rise of the free press did not begin until the start of the nineteenth century.

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I have had an exceptional opportunity to observe the making and dissemination of news and opinion in the United States over the past thirty years—for a time from a front seat in the Federal government, then from the status of a journalist. Of many developments and refinements, the following stand out:

1. An astonishing growth in news media has taken place, with radio and television joining the newspaper and magazine.

2. There has been an immense rise in the size of the Washington press corps. The Presidential press conference, which must be held in a commodious auditorium, is a visual reminder of change since Harding, Hoover and Roosevelt held intimate office conferences.

3. After the Wilson Administration, there appeared departmental press officers whose concern was to channel news to representatives of the privately controlled press. In Roosevelt's first years, the number of these greatly increased. For there were many newsmen in those depression years looking for government jobs. Now their number is legion, and their function is ostensibly to provide a broad highway to the business of their agencies. In reality, these "public information," or "public relations," people are inclined to provide information favorable to the agency and the Administration in power. They prepare and hand out glowing press releases. Thus, many of them are far from helpers for the industrious, old-fashioned digging reporter. Rather, they frequently frustrate in one way or another an independent scrutiny of public business. The importance of these contact people in departments, bureaus and agencies is enhanced by the growth of government with its vast bureaucracy and its increasingly complex activities. To a large extent, the average news-gatherer must either become a specialist in one or another activity or depend upon handouts and public relations people. The individual reporter may wander aimlessly through the corridors of a bureaucratic labyrinth. It is easier, in many cases more agreeable to his home office, to accept the sheaves of handouts, select, and rewrite rather than to scratch for original stories and news.

4. The deficiency in what the citizen is able to learn about his government is accentuated by the deplorable lack of equipment in a large part of the press corps. Reporters on newspapers yearn to achieve the distinction of a Washington assignment. Most of those selected are of above-average intelligence and ability, equipped with a good education. But the reporter is faced by the complexities of government operations or of congressional activities. General knowledge and a "nose for news" is not enough. The tendency of many is to skim off the most superficial and most sensational. Digging, which requires study and inquiry and a strong mental back, is the habit of too few.

5. In the cold war, when security measures are important, an Administration has a fine, patriotic screen to frustrate criticism. Access can be denied to information on security grounds. The thwarted reporter cannot judge the validity of a prohibition because he cannot know the nature of the information. This is especially true in the massive Departments of Defense and State. But all departments use a degree of censorship, and thousands of documents are stamped as classified or "for official eyes only."

6. Foremost among the providers of information is the White House press secretary. The first of these whom I knew was Stephen Early, who served under Roosevelt after 1933. He conceived it his responsibility to act as a buffer and at times a mediator between the President and the press corps. His loyalty to the President was unquestioned, but his loyality to the press was equally pronounced. Many times he quietly suppressed some outbreak of the President toward what FDR was accustomed to call "unfairness" in news stories. Early never assumed the responsibility of becoming a White House spokesman. But in the Eisenhower years Jim Hagerty gave official policy statements in the name of the President. In the Kennedy regime Pierre Salinger not only presents news as a spokesman but is actually used in international diplomacy.

7. There is also the social life in Washington into which too many newsmen are lured and immersed. A bewildering number of dinners, cocktail parties and other events

Raymond Moley, contributing editor of *Newsweek,* is the author of that magazine's "Perspectives" page and also writes a widely-syndicated newspaper column. For nearly 30 years, he was professor of public law at Columbia University and from 1932 to 1935 served as adviser on public policies to Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1932 he organized and headed the "Brain Trust," and in 1933 he served as assistant secretary of state. After 1936, he vigorously opposed the rising "liberalism" of Roosevelt and the Democratic party. A journalist for 28 years, Mr. Moley is essentially a writer on politics in all its aspects.

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offer contacts with people prominent in public office. Entanglements are created which may limit vision, dwarf judgment and shake loyalty to that public interest to which journalists should be dedicated. This applies as well to an increased number of columnists who enjoy a circulation in many newspapers and nominally have a free hand to write independent opinions with news.

8. The White House is an awesome place, full of the reminders of a nation's history. The opportunity for a President and his entourage to invite influential people there and brief them is a powerful one. Few can resist the influence of such entertainment. Hence, many are subtly given "the treatment." If they have been critical, the edge of their attack is dulled. Often they come forth with new opinions and friendliness for the Administration. In the Coolidge Administration a caustic, byline journalist was invited to one of the President's heavy New England breakfasts. His criticism ceased. A witty Senator remarked, "That's the first time I ever knew of a case in which ham and eggs went to a man's head."

Today, in managing the press, White House entertainment and invitations are continuous and effective. Publishers and top editors are ushered in and flattered. Frequently the effect of this flows down to employes. Whatever is published and is favorable to the regime is a source of power. Columnists and free-lance writers are treated with scrupulous attention. Flattery, entertainment and access to invaluable sources, even if all this involves elaborate measures of travel and time by the President or members of his closest group, are frequently offered. A Presidential comment on an author's product may make it a best-seller.

The members of the working press are carefully managed. One correspondent says, "Today one newsman is given an exclusive story, yesterday it was another, tomorrow there will be another and so on. A warm feeling goes far and wide and is stimulated either by memory of favors past or hopes of favors to come." To be critical or even to work for a critical newspaper is to court exclusion.

9. Newspapers and magazines pay high prices for a continuous stream of effusions, mostly ghosted, of those in high office. A conscientious public official spurns such emoluments. Once when Vice President Garner was offered five thousand dollars for a magazine article signed by him, he answered. "An article by John Garner is not worth that much. And the Vice Presidency is not for sale." But such consummate propriety is not always exercised. On one occasion Harry Hopkins made a diplomatic trip to Russia. On his return he declined to inform the press of his impressions. Then he wrote of the trip in a magazine article for which he received a large fee.

10. Any President is in a position to dominate the news. Theodore Roosevelt vigorously exploited this facet of the office, and he has been emulated by those having the desire and capacity to use this exalted position. Some news magazines and daily papers regularly devote special first-section attention to Presidential doings, however trivial. If news unfavorable to a President, his party, or his colleagues is about to appear he can often crowd it off the front page with some new action or statement or proposal. The opposition party may be scheduled to have a meeting which deserves publicity, but a President may destroy its prominence by some sort of news centered upon him.

11. President Kennedy is passionately concerned with his "image," immensely sensitive to public opinion. He winces at criticism and uses decisive means to meet it. He is, as has been assiduously publicized, interested in literature and in history. He cherishes the impression of an intellectual while he exercises the political sophistication of a machine boss. An editor recently said, "When a piece of news unfavorable to the Administration arises from some blunder or other action, the procedure is first to cover up, then to fog up and then to counter with some sort of denial." Word went out to the Administration's contact people early in this regime: "Don't forget to give 'the Boss' credit and see that publicity should always be favorable to the 'team.'" This procedure was at first not fully carried out. The following is an excerpt from a Commerce Department memo which incorporates the word circulated in all departments:

"At a White House meeting we have been advised again that speeches of Cabinet and sub-Cabinet officers do not contain sufficient references to the President. It is to be kept in mind that, in announcing local projects, the President should be given a credit line in the lead paragraph."

"Incorrect," said Pierre Salinger. But the story was later confirmed.

As Walter Bagehot said of the passionate British public interest in the monarchy:

"A *family* on the throne is an interesting idea also. It brings down the pride of sovereignty to the level of petty life. No feeling could seem more childish than the enthusiasm of the English at the marriage of the Prince of Wales.... The women—one half the human race at least—care fifty times more for a marriage than a ministry.... A princely marriage is the brilliant edition of a universal fact, and as such, it rivets mankind. We smile at the *Court Circular*; but remember how many people read the *Court Circular!* Its use is not in what it says, but in those to whom it speaks... a royal family sweetens politics by the seasonable addition of nice and pretty events. It introduces irrelevant facts into the business of government, but they are facts which speak to 'men's bosoms' and employ their thoughts.

"To state the matter shortly, Royalty is a government in which the attention of the nation is concentrated on one person doing interesting actions. A Republic is a government in which that attention is divided between many, who are all doing uninteresting actions."

Never before has a family with a member in the White House been so large, so physically attractive, so keenly sophisticated in politics. The Kennedys give the impression of dazzling motion, of achievement and of doing those little things which are understood by everybody.

A great many of the Washington press corps are emotionally and ideologically outspoken supporters of Kennedy. They traveled with the candidates in 1960, and some profaned their profession by slanting their news dispatches against Nixon and for Kennedy. They committed sins of omission and commission. One reporter who had cast an absentee ballot for Kennedy could only deplore the attitude of his colleagues toward the Vice President: "I figure every guy deserves a fair shake." But bias blared in hundreds of leads.

The travels of the President and the members of his family are given tireless attention, and this is now bolstered by government facilities. Events such as Mrs. Kennedy's visits in India and Pakistan and her television tour of the White House captured immense audiences. These appearances are grist for the political mill. The US Embassy in Ottawa gave suggested descriptions to Canadian reporters for a Kennedy visit. The President is "a glamorous political figure"; Mrs. Kennedy, "totally different from any traditional image of the President's wife"; Pierre Salinger, "a dynamo who resembles tireless competence in motion—a jaunty chunk of a man whose affable manner covers a steel-trap mind—precocious since childhood, Salinger is accustomed to outdistancing his contemporaries."

The interesting and commendable items in the Kennedys' private lives are carefully published. In every Kennedy campaign the great advantage of large means and numbers of attractive and ingratiating personalities was exercised. Once in power, this process has continued.

TR with his exploits, his riding and walking and hunting, set the pattern of stimulating interest by nonpolitical items. He advised his countrymen on methods of eating, playing and reading. The Presidency became a high-placed pulpit for all sorts of preaching.

But compared with what is happening now, these exercises of TR and his family were minor distractions. The Kennedy regime works over the great engine of publicity with the attentiveness, skill and tuning tools of a Mercedes-Benz racing crew. If an embarrassing situation arises in Washington because of an adverse vote in Congress or an Administration blunder, a Kennedy pops up in some other part of the world and commands the attention of the press. Frequently, rather than give out a direct statement, the President or an aide can "float" an idea, opinion or plan through a newsman who is willing to relate the story by saying what the President "feels" or "thinks." The newsman becomes a sounding board or messenger, while the official family remains aloof, in a position to take credit, deny or claim misinterpretation for the "feeling" or "thought."

While many whose business is informing the public shun flattery and favor and protest attempts to exploit their high calling, others go along. The Administration's process of publicity goes on incessantly, sometimes ruthlessly but always effectively, as a means of consolidating power.

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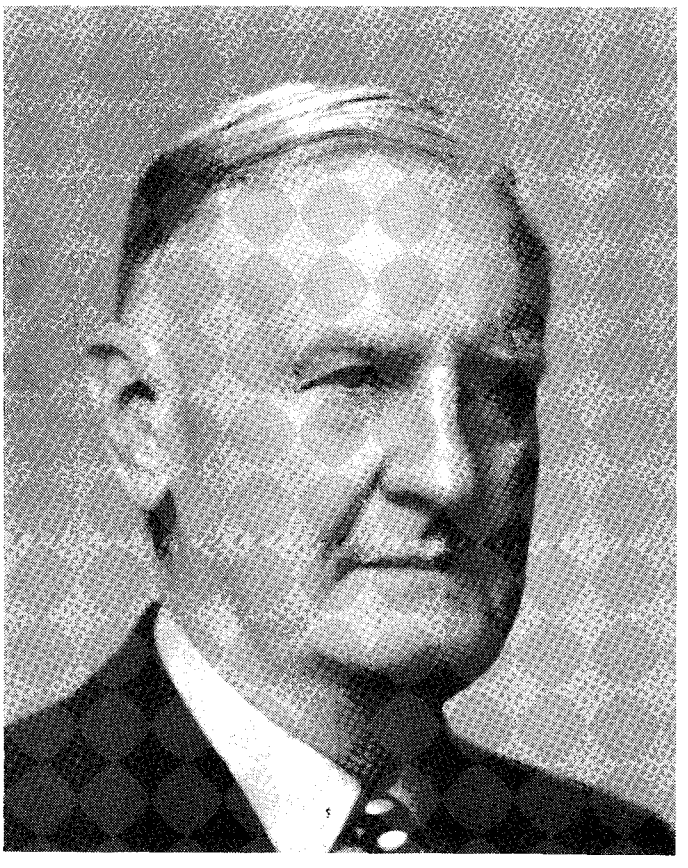

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Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . . .
. . . . . .
☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

Name . . . . .
Address . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . .
Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . . .
. . . . . .
☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

Name . . . . .
Address . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . .
Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . . .
. . . . . .
☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

Here are the names of the 120 distinguished Americans on the Inaugural List:

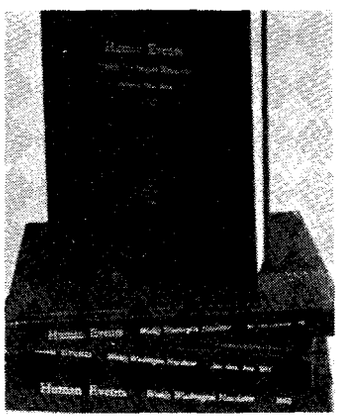
Herbert Hoover
Pierre F. Goodrich
Harry L. Bradley
Raymond Moley
Craig R. Schaeffer
Cecil B. de Mille
Burton F. Peek
A. G. Heinsohn, Jr.
Avery Brundage
L. A. Beeghly
Edgar M. Queeny
A. C. Mattei
C. E. Merrill
H. C. Cullen
J. Peter Grace
Pierre S. DuPont
A. H. Meyer
C. C. Moseley
E. L. Kurth
J. W. Clise
L. S. Reed
Lamar Fleming, Jr.
the Beans of Minneapolis
Lloyd Smith
H. W. Prentis, Jr.
Bernard Peyton
H. C. Stockham
C. C. Haffner, Jr.
Warren P. Miller
W. P. Draper
Philip Virtue
Frank de Ganahl
Allan Hancock
Hubbard Russell
Charles M. White
Ralph Budd
Ben Tate
Joe Crail
Robert A. Taft
Edwin S. Webster, Jr.
Sewell Avery
Charles Edison
E. G. Bailey
Duncan Stewart
Frank R. Seaver
the Milliken family
J. Howard Pew
Chester O. Wanwig
Jasper Crane
E. C. Lynch
Sid Richardson
H. L. Hunt
Lee de Forest
Thomas C. Coleman
L. R. Clausen
Philip M. McKenna
Hughston M. McBain
R. M. Gaylord
John Slezak
Gen. Chas. G. Dawes
Dr. Donald J. Cowling
Walter Harnischfeger
Ben Moreell
Adolphe Menjou
Tom Girdler
J. N. Landrum
Otto K. Eitel
David Fasken
E. J. Wiegand
Cola Parker
Philip L. Corson
J. W. Kieckhefer
Albert Penn
F. O. Prior
W. J. Grede
R. W. McDowell
Albert Hawkes
F. A. Jostes and others

YOU can keep the chain going by selecting persons in your community and in your occupation who should be reading *Human Events*. Give Christmas gifts of *Human Events* at the special $9.50 rate and SAVE $3 ON YOUR OWN SUBSCRIPTION by renewing it at the same time.

Your Christmas list this year can be a constructive act toward preserving a free America.

An Additional Bonus:

A gift subscription order of $75 or more entitles you to a FREE Bound Volume of *Human Events* for January-June, 1962, with complete index (regular price, $15). A gift subscription order of $150 or more entitles you to both the Bound Volumes for 1962, January-June and July-December.



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Section Seven
October 20, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Priest Says 'No' to JFK Cuba Policy

By the REV. DR. JOSEPH F. THORNING

White House and State Department officials must seize the initiative within the next six months or else they will find the nation relegated to the status of a second-rate power in the life-and-death struggle now taking place on a global scale.

All citizens who believe in freedom and decency can recognize that the Castro brothers, Fidel and Raul, are the Soviet *gauleiters* of Cuba. US policy toward them and their economic czar, Che Guevara, should be shaped exactly as people would demand it be developed toward local traitors completely subservient to another Adolf Hitler. Castro's Cuba is a missile and rocket base for the ever-expanding Soviet empire. Hitler, Hermann Goering and Joseph Paul Goebbels never dared to move into the Caribbean except with Nazi submarines. Thanks to our own air bases on "The Pearl of the Antilles," the Hitlerite undersea raiders were sunk within sight of the Florida coast. Now it is time to consider any and all measures that can stop the flow of Soviet oil into the Soviet armed camp immediately off our shores.

In another six months, Chairman Nikita Khrushchev, upon consolidation of his empire in Cuba, will be threatening to unleash thermonuclear annihilation upon the White House and State Department unless we agree to internationalize the Panama Canal. The dilemma our policy-makers face is clear: either to continue a program of withdrawal, retreat and eventual surrender of vital positions; or to advance upon the Cuban spearhead of Soviet aggression.

To talk about the difference between "defensive" and "offensive" weapons in the current crisis is to forget that threats, backed by armed might, are an essential element in Soviet conquest. The same rockets that act as a shield can pinpoint targets in Florida, the Dominican Republic and Haiti. As long as Castro's Cuba remains a stationary aircraft carrier for Red fascism, its panoply of arms and its units of the Red army will add emphasis to Khrushchev's denunciations and demands for more victims.

On the other hand, recognition of a Cuban government in exile and a courageous decision to halt Soviet tankers on the high seas will prove to all the world that Khrushchev's challenge has been understood and accepted. Sooner or later, the dangers inherent in a program of rhetoric, rather than action, must be faced. The same mentality in the State Department which failed to identify the Castro "revolution" as a Marxist-Leninist movement is trying to defend our present paralysis of the will in an area where much more delay, hesitation and pusillanimity can be fatal.

From a lecture by the Rev. Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, pastor of St. Joseph's Church in Carrollton Manor, Frederick County, Maryland. Associate editor of *World Affairs*, Father Thorning is a recognized authority on Latin America.

Homecoming for Conservatives

The Fifth Political Action Conference— January 10, 11, 12, 1963
Statler-Hilton Hotel—Washington, D.C.

Charter Subscribers of *Human Events* will join our current boosters in a HOMECOMING FOR CONSERVATIVES, January 10, 11, 12. It will be a special feature of the FIFTH POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE to be held at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Washington, D. C. Registration begins at 2 PM, Thursday, January 10, with a social gathering 4 to 6 PM with *Human Events* Charter Subscribers as honored guests. The Conference will end 10 PM Saturday, January 12.

Its central purpose will be to consolidate the Conservative gains and to stop New Frontier legislation in its tracks. It will be a "What must we do now?" and "How do we do it?" Conference.

MEET YOUR FRIENDS AT THE HOMECOMING

Send us your advance Reservation NOW. You help us when we know how many we can expect. Use the form below.

ADVANCE REGISTRATION **Fifth HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference** **January 10, 11, 12, 1963**

Please make the following registrations and keep me posted as plans develop: HUMAN EVENTS, 410 First Street, S.E., Washington 3, D.C.:

☐Check enclosed ☐Bill me after January 31, 1963 (all fees will be returned in full if you cannot attend, regardless of reason)

Friday preference

Name . . . . . Fish ☐
Address . . . . . Meat ☐
City . . . . . **Zone** . . . **State** . . . .

Circle Number of Conferences attended 1 2 3 4

Friday preference

Name . . . . . Fish ☐
Address . . . . . Meat ☐
City . . . . . **Zone** . . . **State** . . . .

Circle Number of Conferences attended 1 2 3 4

CONFERENCE FEE of $75 includes Continental breakfast, lunch and dinner Friday and Saturday, Jan. 11-12, Homecoming reception, 4-6 PM, Thursday, Jan. 10. $45 fee for additional members of immediate family (wives, sons, daughters) and for students, teachers, clergymen, active members of YAF and ISI.

SPECIAL ROOM RATES—HEADQUARTERS: STATLER-HILTON HOTEL, Washington, D. C., $10 single and $14 twins are available. As soon as your advance registration is received, we will mail Hotel information, so you may make early arrangements and be assured of special HUMAN EVENTS Conference rates.

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More Letters from HUMAN EVENTS Readers

Magazine Will Reach Thousands More

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.—I think that changing to magazine style is the best solution because: (1) It will eliminate the necessity of raising the subscription price; (2) It will eliminate the printing and handling costs of the present format; (3) The magazine will reach many thousands more people; and (4) The income from advertisers will reduce financial crises. Any solution that will help keep *Human Events* in the hands of readers is an invaluable step in the right direction.

—Mrs. Genevieve M. Loque.

"You are Indispensable"

CHARLOTTE, MICH.—I think you are indispensable. I have little interest beyond the four-page news section, so I suggest the eight-page total. I think it is too bad if we can't support you by private donations. If we cannot afford to support your publication, I wonder what we can afford.

—G. J. Woodward.

The Material Makes Human Events

CHULA VISTA, CALIF.—Choice No. 1 seems most practical to me. After all, the change in format will have no bearing on the material which makes *Human Events* so valuable. If it should then still be necessary to raise the rates, by all means do so. Wish I could afford to send trials to everyone I know.

—Mrs. James H. Quinn.

"We Love Human Events Just As It Is"

OGDEN, UTAH—We read *Human Events* every week as soon as it comes. We would be lost without it and think it is the finest publication of TRUTH in the world. We love *Human Events* just as it is, but will gladly support it regardless of any changes that may be made. Hoping there will always be a *Human Events*.

—Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Cardon.

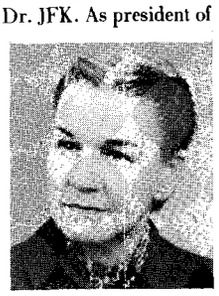
"Human Events Is Wonderful"

MARSING, IDAHO—*Human Events* is wonderful. I wouldn't miss it for anything. I am really concerned about your financial condition and am trying to obtain new subscribers all the time. Don't give up the struggle because you are one of our best weapons in the war against the liberals.

—Pembroke T. Rathbone.

Favors Magazine

LaGRANGE, ILL.—The magazine type will be simpler and it will reach more people through a newsstand. I'm all for it. Anything to awaken these people who are so drugged with the "liberal languor" pills prescribed by Dr. JFK. As president of the Republican Women's Club of Lyons Township, which includes LaGrange, Western Springs, Brookfield and Riverside, we have sent you many, many subscriptions. We will continue this every year, but being on a newsstand would help. I'm enclosing a small check. I wish it could be larger. If this drive does not bring in enough let us all know again and perhaps we can dig deeper.



—Mrs. Willard P. Drake.

The "Four Vital Questions" asked readers to choose from four choices:

1. Changing the *Human Events* format to magazine-style, enabling it to carry advertising and to be sold on newsstands. (Reprints of popular articles would still be available, printed exactly like present-sized reprints.)

2. The present 16 to 20 pages of *Human Events*, published in the present format but increasing subscription price sufficiently for *Human Events* to become self-sustaining.

3. Continuing 16 to 20 pages in the present format at the present price, making up the deficit with an annual drive for $150,000 to $200,000.

4a. Cut back to eight pages.

4b. Print only the four-page news section. Omit the rest.

Happy Trial Subscriber

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—It is possible that I should not even send in this ballot since I am receiving *Human Events* as a five-week gift. However, I do want to say that I have thoroughly read and enjoyed the four copies I have received. And I definitely like the form you are using. I might add that I am sending in for a six-month subscription.

—John A. Eineman.

Magazine the Answer

HOUGHTON, MICH.—Magazine format seems to me to make the publication easier to read, to carry about and to have lying on a table for everyone to see, to be picked up and perused at odd moments, when the present envelope with its enclosures might be tucked away some place. This may be simply a matter of taste, and what one is conditioned to expect in a publication. It also may be that more young people would find *Human Events* more attractive in this form. But, the important thing is to keep *Human Events* going and no matter of personal preference should be considered above that.

—Mrs. F. Daniel Seeber.

Survive

LOS ALTOS, CALIF.—We hope *Human Events* will survive this crisis through fund-raising and, if necessary, an increase in subscription rates, or even a cutback in pages—but, please, no advertising!

—Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Rilea.

Would Not Object to Change

ARGONIA, KAN.—The present format of *Human Events* is very desirable. It is invaluable to have it in sections. These sections are very helpful when it is desirable to send a specific section for a specific purpose. However, it seems to me that you seem to think a change of style would have certain advantages and if this is so, I would certainly not object. Probably some advertising would increase circulation.

—Melvin G. Tracy.

Wants Eight Pages Only

VICKSBURG, MICH.—Since you increased the size beyond eight pages I have been planning on dropping my subscription. If you go back to eight pages I intend to stay on.

—B. H. Ginther.

Subscribers Are Not Bargain-Hunters

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.—My subscriptions date back nearly 10 years and started when I read your ad quoting Senator Taft that his first activity each Monday A. M. was to read *Human Events* to learn what was going on in Washington. I knew that if Senator Taft depended upon *Human Events*, I needed it. I am still giving seven gift subscriptions (not at reduced rates). I cannot do more now since my wife and I, both about 80, depend almost entirely on dividend income for our living. We have no pension, no social security (I never did believe in it), only our private income. I have voted for No. 2. Keep the four-page newsletter as it always has been, and condense the rest into a four-page summary, with an additional supplement only when you have a Senator Byrd article or something approaching that high standard. I cannot believe that a $2-per-year increase would lose many subscribers, or that smaller savings on gift subscriptions would be seriously harmful. After all, you are not selling ordinary merchandise and your subscribers are real Americans, not bargain-hunters.

—C. H. Kerr.

"Reach More People"

HELENA, MONT.—I prefer No. 3, but I have checked No. 1. Reason? If it is to give the same coverage it would reach more people and that is the important thing. You cannot raise the price and keep your present circulation. I know because I have a magazine-subscription business and if you don't keep your circulation now and add to it, there'll be no United States of America left. That's what I think of *Human Events*. In fact, I would almost suggest a cut in rates—to increase circulation. Invariably people will buy "specials" when they won't pay full price for the same magazines. Whatever you do, don't go out of business, for you are so *sorely* needed to help preserve the country.

—Mrs. E. J. Milligan.

More Executives Should Read It

PRINCETON, N. J.—I vote for No. 1. In addition to revenue from advertising you will receive: (1) wider reader circulation; (2) this will develop subscription interest from casual buyers; (3) there are still many millions who do not know of *Human Events*, and this will reach them. Continue to solicit from industry so that each issue can be read by executives, junior executives and other personnel. I would also suggest that the above idea be used for banks, saving and loan associations, brokerage houses and other financial institutions.

—Foster D. Jemison.

Printer Appreciates Problem

CHICAGO, ILL.—I'm in the printing business and can well appreciate your production problems. However, I would not like to see you cut back. I feel then that newsstand distribution is the lesser of two evils.

—Mrs. B. P. Caldwell, Jr.

Cut Back to Eight Pages

NORTH ATTLEBORO, MASS.—If you cannot meet operating expenses after cutting back to only eight pages, I would approve the proposal to change the format to magazine style, so it can carry advertising and be sold at the newsstand.

—Charles J. Thornley.

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